

INTERVIEW MEMORANDUM

Program

- I Our basic assumption is that within the apparent monolithic unity of Soviet leadership there is now and may be expanded in the future the play of individualities information about whom is essential to the implementation of United States aims vis-a-vis U.S.S.R.
- II Rigidly enforced official Soviet policy denies access to any but official versions of the lives and characters of leadership individuals, and to the individuals themselves. Sources available to the researcher are, then: official biographies and sketches; official speeches and reports; pre-Iron Curtain writings; personal contacts.
- III
- IV Therefore it is proposed to interview, if possible, a limited number of persons who have had direct contact with Soviet leaders; and whose contacts have been in both recent and past periods, and at various levels: official, both civilian and military; party; industrial and other employment; repertorial, et cetera.
- V We propose, as general procedure, that interviews will combine unhurried free association and specific interrogation, prepared for by a written statement, in advance, of the general subject, Soviet leaders, and an indication of the lines our questions will take.

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VI Although Soviet suppression of information and minimising of contacts with Soviet leaders suggest a skeptical view of the probability of getting ^{any} substantial factual information about Soviet leadership personalities, our first aim is to add to the meagre store of such information now available. This is our primary assigned task.

VII We hope that in the field of inference based on personal contacts and observation, and the special experience and knowledge of the persons interviewed, we may get insights into Soviet leadership thinking in the realm of policy under such broad headings as:

- (a) Differences of opinion as to the implications of war and peace in Soviet external and internal policy, planning, actions, future, et cetera.
- (b) Differences of opinion as to the future status of Russian government.

VIII Suggested questions: Policy Level:

1. At any time during direct contact with a Russian official could you detect a personal as distinguished from an official attitude upon any subject relevant to then or present United States-Soviet relations?
2. In any formal situation involving negotiation or discussion what evidence was there of the play of individual initiative or opinion on the part of a Russian official while he was operating within the frame-work of official directives?
3. More specifically, do you in your thinking about any Russian official identify him with a personal attitude on his part toward:
 - A. War as the outcome of or inherent in Russian policy?
 - B. Peace as a real Russian objective?

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- C. Russian expansionism?
- D. Russian internal development?
- E. Balance of individual loyalty between party and country?
- F. Temporary and long-range bases for Soviet-West coexistence?
- G. Real function, status, et cetera of satellites?

- 4. Can you recall any personal expression of opinion on the part of a Russian official pertaining to the future?
- 5. Have you any opinion as to an individual Russian leader's attitude toward and position in the past, present, or possible future personal power alignment of Russian leaders?

Note: The answers to the above questions would be organized as applicable in the form of answers to the following check questions:

- A. Who?
 - B. When?
 - C. In what circumstances?
 - D. What subject?
 - E. What attitude?
 - F. How detected?
 - G. How strong was the basis for your inference or opinion?
- 6. What is your own opinion as to personal power alignments within Russian leadership?
 - 7. What do you think the most important aspect of Russian leadership as a group and as individuals for shapers of United States policy to bear in mind?
 - 8. What Russian leader would you choose to deal with in an attempt to establish a desired United States-Russian relationship?

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9. What have I failed to touch upon in the matter of Russian leaders and Russian leadership as a whole that we should discuss?

IX Suggested questions: Management and Administrative Role:

If it is possible to find interviewees who knew or worked under any of the present Politburo or Moscow party elite when they were occupying outside positions of lesser importance some years ago, as for instance Molotov when he was manufacturing tanks, or Bulganin when he was close to the aircraft industry, but preferably even further back in personal history than either of these examples, questioning would be directed somewhat along these lines:

1. How much real power did he wield?
2. How much initiative and ability did he display?
3. What was the attitude of workers and subordinated toward him?
4. Could you detect any personal attitude toward the party, Russia, war, internal developments, the West, et cetera?

X Suggested questions: Personality

- A. When you think of the Politburo not so much as a political unit but as a group of men:

1. What common traits come to mind?
2. What totally absent traits?
3. In a group, Stalin absent, would the casual observer notice any one more than the others? Whom? Why?
4. Stalin excepted, is there any one of them more often mentioned than the others - by members of the group? Whom? Context? By other people? Whom? Context?
5. Stalin excepted, when you think of this group who comes first to mind? Why?

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B. Questions about _____. (Selected in answer to 5)

6. When you think of _____ what comes first to mind? Why?
7. How was he most like the others?
8. How most unlike?
9. Politics aside, would you voluntarily choose him as a companion for - dinner, party, bridge, theatre, any sport, anything at all?
10. Did he ever surprise you with a response to a remark or question? Circumstances.
11. This response - quick or deliberate?
12. Did he ask questions? What?
13. Did he betray any interest or curiosity in you as a person?
14. Did he betray suspicion of you?
15. Did he ever indicate assurance - as distinguished by conceit or adherence to a doctrine? The opposite?
16. Trying to find an innocuous subject, what did he talk about?
17. Talking to you, was he also trying to take in the rest of the scene?
18. Age references?

C. General questions:

1. Distinguishable as power factors?
2. Up and coming younger men?
3. Stalin fatally sick, you have been empowered singly to present the western view to the Politburo as a last gesture of all the free world, so to speak, before catastrophe becomes inevitable. You are permitted, having arrived in Moscow, to speak to only one member of the Politburo, but you may choose your member and you are granted unlimited time. Whom would you choose? Why?
4. Social experiences?

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